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ABSTRACT

Based on 35 comprehensive, qualitative interviews with selected Danish teachers, school advisers, education authorities, and Turkish families and school children, this report discusses the problems of socialisation and education due to the religious and cultural differences between Danes and Turkish migrant workers. Demographic data provide information on the housing and occupations of the 10,299 Turkish migrant workers resident in Denmark and the opportunities for vocational training and other studies open to migrant children. The relationship between the Turkish minority and the Danish population is discussed in terms of their differences in physical appearance, dress, religious rituals, cultural behaviour, moral beliefs and standards, sex roles, authority figures, and child rearing practices. A discussion of the situation of the Turkish pupil in the Danish school provides information on the problems encountered by the Turkish pupils regarding language barriers, the instruction, socialisation process, and the attitudes of the Danish students and teachers. The report concludes with some suggested measures to help overcome some of the difficulties encountered by Turkish migrant workers resident in Denmark. (NQA)

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DECS/EGT (79) 107

THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS' CHILDREN

Dossiers for the intercultural training of teachers

DENMARK

Socio-cultural information

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS' CHILDREN

Dossiers

for

the intercultural training of teachers

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL SITUATION OF MIGRANTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

in

DENMARK

by

Professor Jacques Blum

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The socio-cultural situation of migrants and their families

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1. THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISATION AND EDUCATION DUE TO THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DANES AND TURKISH MIGRANT WORKERS

This report is based on 35 comprehensive, qualitative interviews with selected key persons representing Danish teachers, headteachers, school advisers, education authorities, Turkish families and Turkish schoolchildren - using a Turkish interpreter where necessary.

Statistics and analyses have been used wherever possible but, it should be noted that the statistics on this subject are very limited.

Furthermore, it has been possible to include only a few of the works previously published on the situation of Turkish immigrants.

1.1 DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

From the beginning of the sixties until 1973, Denmark admitted a relatively large number of migrant workers into the country, mainly to support Danish industry. During this period, there was so-called "full employment" in Denmark and industrial enterprises, especially those where there was rapid economic expansion, were in great need of the immigrant labour force. Like the other Scandinavian countries, Denmark opened its frontiers to foreigners seeking work. Residence and work permits were at first given mainly to Turkish, Greek and Yugoslav workers. Since then, immigrants have come from Asia (Pakistan) and there has been a limited number from the other EEC countries.

Because of Denmark's membership of the EEC, nationals from these countries are in a somewhat privileged position, as are immigrants from the other Scandinavian countries.

According to "Danmarks Statistik" (January 1978), there are 94,415 foreign nationals resident in Denmark, roughly half of whom come from the other Scandinavian countries and from the EEC countries. According to statistics, Turkish nationals in Denmark account for 10,299 persons, making the Turks the largest group of migrant workers in the country.

It may be of interest to note that there are an estimated 32,558 foreign nationals in Denmark between the ages of 0 and 19, an estimated 12,000 of whom are aged between 7 and 14, ie of compulsory school age (1).

Unfortunately, the statistical material available does not make it possible to distribute the group according to sex and age. Suffice it to say therefore that, according to an internal survey carried out by the Directorate of the Folkeskole (2) and based on information from the local authorities, on 1 September 1978, there were some 10,000 Turkish pupils in Danish schools. It should be pointed out that the Turkish pupils account for the largest number of migrant children in Danish schools.

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(1) Danmarks Statistik, 1.1.78

(2) Folkeskole is the compulsory school (7-16)

1.2 HOUSING

The foreign nationals in Denmark live in the urban areas, ie they are concentrated in and around the four largest Danish cities, namely Copenhagen and environs, Aarhus, Aalborg and Odense. Only very few of them live in the rural districts.

Although no precise information is available, it would appear that the Turks live either in older, inner-city apartments with a very low rent, or in apartments in relatively new housing where the rent is also reasonable, thanks, in part, to government subsidies. The latter type of accommodation is mainly occupied by unskilled labourers and consequently the level of income in these areas is the same as, or below, the national average.

In this connection, it is important to note that in Denmark it is common practice to rent rather than buy an apartment. Likewise, it should be remembered that the cost of housing in Denmark is extremely high compared with, for instance, eastern or southern Europe.

As already mentioned, Denmark received a relatively large number of migrant workers, including Turks, up to 1973 when the first signs of an increase in unemployment were witnessed. It was in November of the same year that the Danish parliament voted in favour of clamping down on immigration. This decision was a natural consequence of the fact that Danish industry, like that of many other European countries, was affected by the economic crisis in the western world and its purpose was to keep unemployment at the lowest possible level.

Despite this, by mid 1979, there were some 150,000 unemployed in Denmark.

The limitations placed on the admission of migrant workers did not prevent an increase in the number of immigrants coming to Denmark, including nationals of the traditional "sending" countries, for shortly after the halt was voted, the Danish authorities gave permission to foreign nationals to bring their families to Denmark if they wished.

The migrant workers resident in Denmark naturally took advantage of this possibility, which meant that the number of foreigners living in Denmark continued to grow.

1.3 OCCUPATION

It is undeniable that, over the years, the term "migrant workers" has come to have a pejorative ring and has finally become a stereotype.

Danes attribute to the "migrant workers" a number of negative traits, irrespective of whether they come from Turkey, Pakistan, Greece, Yugoslavia or elsewhere. As mentioned above, this is a negative generalisation, a stereotype. (This matter will be discussed in more detail on page 5). However, it is important to remember that part of the stereotype is due to the nature of employment offered the migrant workers. During the economic boom when there was full employment in Denmark, the Danish workers not only put in claims for higher wages but also laid down limits to the degree of discomfort they were prepared to tolerate in order to earn a living. This economic boom not only gave the Danish worker more to take home in his pay packet and thus a higher standard of living, but also led to improved working conditions.

The work that was considered "inferior" by Danish workers, ie primarily work in industry and the service trades, was then offered to the immigrant workers. In other words, over the years, there has been a tendency to create unskilled jobs for Danes and unskilled jobs for "foreigners".

Thus, the occupational situation of migrants is that they fill the jobs left vacant by Danish unskilled labourers during the economic boom.

However, as has already been mentioned, the economic situation of Denmark, like that of the entire western world, has changed radically. Unemployment is extremely high (roughly 150,000 unemployed) and, in spite of the relatively high unemployment benefits, the so-called "migrant worker jobs" are becoming popular again. This state of affairs has given rise to many problems, which will be discussed later in this report.

While on this subject, however, it is important to note that almost all migrant workers are members of Danish Trade Unions and thus have exactly the same rights and obligations as Danish-born workers. In other words, they cannot be made redundant before Danish workers. Likewise, an employer must apply exactly the same rules and regulations when dealing with a foreign union member, as when dealing with a Dane. This, too, is a source of some irritation to Danes and leads, in some cases, to discrimination.

However, only exceptionally have Danish employers been known to give preferential treatment to Danish workers over Turkish workers in cases of redundancy.

Another problem revealed by numerous talks with Turkish workers is that of re-employment, the Turks claiming that Danish workers are given priority or at least receive preferential treatment.

In general, however, there is no evidence of there being any discrimination and if a comparison were made between the unemployment figures for Danish and Turkish workers in the same trade, they would be the same.

1.4 OPPORTUNITIES FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND OTHER STUDIES OPEN TO MIGRANT CHILDREN

The following information is, to a large extent, based on the provisions laid down in the Ministry of Education Notice No 179 of 8 March 1976.

Migrant children who have been resident in Denmark for more than six months are subject to the same rules and regulations governing compulsory education as Danish children. These children are admitted into Danish schools in the grade corresponding to their age but special arrangements may be made should this not prove expedient, for instance, because of language difficulties.

Moreover, section 4 of sub-section 2 states that pupils, whose personal development requires special attention or support, or other socio-educational assistance, may be referred to special instruction.

When they start school, non-Danish speaking pupils receive Danish language instruction and supplementary tuition in other subjects. The provisions state that the purpose of Danish language instruction is to enable non-Danish speaking pupils to follow the normal class instruction corresponding to their age level, and to enable them to participate in other school activities on an equal footing with the other pupils.

Danish language instruction (1) is given in one of the following forms:

1. Reception Classes where pupils from one or more schools and, if necessary, from several municipalities, are introduced to the school environment and receive their entire schooling, though this is gradually combined with instruction in their normal classes. The number of pupils must not exceed 12 at the beginning of the school year unless the class is taught by two teachers jointly.

2. Group or individual instruction which constitutes only part of the pupil's total schooling. No group should have more than seven pupils.

Furthermore, it is possible for a local authority (2), either alone or in co-operation with other local authorities, to establish special classes for migrant children arriving in Denmark after their 14th birthday.

Finally, it is the responsibility of the individual local authority to offer migrant workers' children instruction in their mother tongue. It is stated that the purpose of this instruction is to ensure

> "... that pupils maintain and develop their knowledge of their mother tongue and the conditions prevailing in their country of origin."

Sub-section 2. Every effort shall be made to ensure that pupils do not lose conatct with their native countries, against the wishes of their parents, and that their possible return to these countries be facilitated.

Section 13. In addition to mother tongue instruction, migrant children may also receive instruction in the history, geography and social conditions of their native country. Instruction shall, as far as possible conform to that given in the native country. At the same time, however, the wishes of parents should be taken into consideration.

Sub-section 2. This instruction, which consists of 3 to 5 lessons a week, is usually given outside normal school hours, and may take place on Saturdays, provided parents give their consent.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that Danish schoolchildren attend school only five days a week and are free on both Saturdays and Sundays.

Every effort is made to see that the tuition of migrant children in reception classes is carried out by specially qualified teachers. Instruction in the migrant children's mother tongue is usually given by nationals of their native country, if possible by qualified teachers, but otherwise by Danish teachers with special training in the language in question.

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(1) cf Notice on the teaching of non-Danish speaking pupils in primary and lower secondary schools in Denmark Part II Section 7, sub-sections 1 and 2.

(2) cf above mentioned publications, Part III, sections 9 and 10.

With regard to Turkish pupils in particular, practically all of them start school in reception classes and are then channelled into normal classes after a suitable length of time. A considerable number of them - particularly those who came to Denmark after the compulsory school age - also receive some form of supplementary or special instruction.

Finally, it should be mentioned that practically all migrant children, irrespective of age, attend mother tongue classes which have proved to be very popular. As stated in the abovementioned notice, the purpose of this instruction is not only educational; it also provides an opportunity for parents (mainly fathers) who take their children to language classes to meet socially, as it does themselves, who thus experience situations where their language and culture do not act as a barrier to spontaneous interaction.

1.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TURKISH MINORITY AND THE DANISH POPULATION

It will be obvious to those interested in the problems of cultural minorities that, when dealing with the above question, it has to be considered from three different angles:

- Firstly, what are the cultural and religious concepts of the minority group in question;

- Secondly, what cultural and religious concepts prevail in the majority group in question and;

- Thirdly, how well do the two cultures mingle? What are the similarities and when are the differences so great that they may cause friction?

With regard to the cultural characteristics of the Turkish community it would take too long to mention all the matters on which the average Turk holds a different point of view from the average Dane. Therefore, only the more conspicuous "differences" will be mentioned.

In the first place, there is the physical aspect. Without claiming that all Danes are tall and blond, it is quite obvious that their appearance is different from that of southern Europeans.

Furthermore, the Turks generally dress differently from the Danes - the women, for example, often wear gaily-coloured clothes with colourful scarves tied round their heads, as part of their everyday attire. In other words, there is a pronounced difference in taste in clothing between the Turkish and Danish women of the same age.

Turkish men, too, usually dress differently from Danish men - in fact, in Denmark men are sometimes described as being "dressed like a migrant worker".

They tend to wear "nice" clothes, that generally look well worn, are possibly second-hand and therefore old-fashioned, for instance, dark blue suits cut in the fifties or early sixties style. The young Turks, on the other hand, tend to prefer the ultra-modern, eye-catching style whereas most Danes of the same age go in for the casual look.

This rather lengthy description of the Turks' style of dress is given in an attempt to help the reader understand why the Turkish migrants, be they men or women, stand out from the Danes, even though they do not wear national costume in the traditional sense.

It is presumably superfluous in this connection to mention that a difference in physical appearance plays an important part in the creation of a stereotype and the discrimination that so often goes with it.

There have also been one or two incidents which have contributed to the reinforcement of these stereotypes - for example, when it was revealed that a Turkish family, living in a second-floor flat on the outskirts of a large Danish town, kept goats on their balcony and hens in the kitchen.

This situation caused a great deal of consternation among the Danish inhabitants, who reported the family for cruelty to animals. They also considered it grossly irresponsible and a danger to health in the area. However, they did not immediately report the matter to the police and the health department but first tried to sort things out amicably with the family in question. When this proved of no avail, the migrant worker adviser for the district was called in to talk to the family.

Language difficulties did not make matters easier but there was something more than a mere problem of communication at the root of the trouble.

The Turkish family thought it the most natural thing in the world to be able to collect eggs or catch a hen for dinner when they felt like it. The family came from the country in Turkey and it was something they had always done at home. There is no doubt whatever that the Turkish family found it extremely unjust when, after numerous explanations, they were forced to get rid of their domestic animals.

Another incident occurred in connection with a large Turkish festival. This time, it was not just one family which was concerned but a large part of the Turkish colony resident in the district. A group of Turks, living in a housing development similar to the one in the above example, had brought two bullocks for their celebrations and had transported them, from the farm where they had bought them, through the town (one of Denmark's largest provincial towns) to the open grassland surrounding the place where they lived. Here they slaughtered the two animals according to Islamic custom, and roasted them over an open fire. The entire Turkish colony in the area had been invited to the festival and the local Danish inhabitants were so horrified that they called in the police who arrived with lights flashing and sirens howling and surrounded the whole area.

These two incidents are mentioned, not because they are in any way typical or common, but because they give an idea of just how great the cultural differences can be. They also show how unaware of each other's culture both the Danish and the Turkish population are, and at the same time, account to a certain extent for the attitude of many Danes towards the Turkish migrant workers.

To complete the picture, it should be added that the Islamic slaughter rituals, like those of the Jewish minority, are heavily criticised by a great number of Danes, especially the members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, who consider that to kill animals with a knife, without stunning them first, is barbaric.

In brief, it can be said that the distinctive appearance of the Turks, their "exotic" clothes and religious-cultural behaviour cause Danes to look upon them with a mixture of wonder, scepticism and, not infrequently, dislike.

In order to understand the Danish attitude, it is essential at this point to recall that, until the mid-fifties, Danish society was one of the few almost ethnically homogeneous European societies, from a minority-sociological point of view. Up until then, Denmark had had a few ethnic groups which had been gradually integrated into Danish society and had been well assimilated over the generations, eg the Jews, the Poles, the Germans and, to a certain extent, the Greenlanders, although the latter, for many reasons, constitute a rather special category.

This ethnic homogeneity has caused certain authors to accuse the Danes of provincialism that might well lead to Xenophobia and complacency. This attitude is, of course, prejudicial to all those who differ from the norm, including ethnic groups. One author, Axel Sandemose lays down a so-called "Law of Jante" in one of his most well-known works: "A Fugitive crossing his tracks". This "law" consists of ten commandments, the first one of which is "Thou shalt not believe thou art something". Turkish migrant workers or other ethnic minorities are forced to be "something". If their "peculiarities" cannot either be regarded as "picturesque" or very quickly wiped out, pressures will be brought to bear on them, perhaps in the form of discrimination of some kind or other (not necessarily, and rarely, violent).

Denmark has, in many countries, a long-standing reputation for not displaying the discrimination and hostility towards foreigners that is found in many other western European countries.

This is probably due to two things:

- Firstly, that Denmark, as stated above, has been ethnically homogeneous for many years. In other words, there have simply not been any objects for discrimination. The few foreigners - for instance, Africans or Asians - were regarded as "picturesque" elements of the local scene and not as population groups who, for better or worse, would become part of Danish society in the course of time.
- Secondly, the Danish norm that no-one must "believe he is something" does not permit groups or individuals in society to stand out by agreeing on an intensive or direct discrimination against foreigners, such as is found in certain groups in, for instance, England, France or Germany,

Thus, the "Law of Jante" has both positive and negative effects on the Danish/Turkish relationship and discrimination is consequently limited, at least for the time being.

During the past 20 years or so, considerable moral and religious changes have taken place in Denmark. Religion in Denmark is regarded as "something you either have or you don't" and although from a socio-religious point of view this assertion is not valid, it does contain the basic truth that religion (ie the observance of certain traditional ceremonies) is not very common in Denmark. For instance, one rarely hears an opinion or attitude justified by a reference to the Christian faith or the New Testament.

It may be said, and many students of religion would agree, that Danish society has become secularised and that the traditional Christian rituals have been replaced by others which are difficult to identify. However, there

is no doubt that Danish culture is influenced by Christian morals although these manifest themselves in a different way from in our grandparents' time.

This does not, of course, apply to all Danes but it is nonetheless the predominant feature of any analysis of Danish society.

In the past 10 years, this trend has become accentuated. The Danish parliament has passed a number of laws (ie codified morals) that clearly depart from the moral views of the past.

In the first place, attitudes towards family life, and particularly towards sex have become far more liberal over the past 10 years. The consequence of this is that there has been a rise in the number of divorces, there are more unmarried mothers than ever before and more unmarried couples living together.

As a result of the change in morals, the legislation on abortion was liberalised and the new Abortion Act came into force on 1 October 1973.

Women of all ages and from all walks of life, regardless of their marital status or whether they already have children, take advantage of the ease with which an abortion can be obtained, but the numbers have now become stabilised.

The age of criminal liability has also been lowered and with it, the age of consent. As a consequence of this, sex education has become a compulsory subject in Danish schools.

Furthermore, there are virtually no restrictions on pornography. It goes without saying that by no means all Danes take advantage of this or buy pornographic books or photographs. According to surveys, pornography has in fact a fairly limited market. On the other ahnd, the new attitude towards pornography reflects a change in the whole concept of sex.

Finally, it is a fact, and not just tourist propaganda, that women sunbathe topless on the Danish beaches. This can be taken as an expression of the emancipation of women that has taken place in recent years. It can also be interpreted as a liberation of a physical kind.

This is mentioned because it is not just a question of a few trend-setters amusing themselves with experimental behaviour but because it - although not without protest - has become part of Danish culture and the average Dane's everday life. It is not known, however, what is the percentage of the population who have reservations about these changes.

As mentioned above, this development has not been entirely without friction. Over the past two or three years, a "Christian People's Party" has been formed, part of whose programme is the protection of family life. It should also be added that the question of compulsory sex education in Danish schools was brought before the European Court of Human Rights. The complaint was, however, overruled.

The old standards have disappeared and been replaced by new ones which are very different in spirit.

The same applies to the ideology of Danish upbringing and education. Children must no longer be looked upon an naughty adults who must be made to conform to the adult world; but as individuals with an independent and meaningful life. Parents no longer, at least not usually, feel that they own their children and that they can do with them as they please: nor do they, as in the old days in Denmark, regard them as cheap labour for the family.

The authoritative kind of upbringing is, in other words, very much on the decline and the Danish authorities, following the Swedish example, are at present drafting rules which will lay down the degree of corporal punishment that may be given within the family.

The shift from authority to a more equal distribution of power within the family is also reflected in the world of education. Caning has been prohibited in Danish schools for many years and a teacher who hits a child can be dismissed on those grounds alone. The Folkeskole is experimenting with a wide range of educational methods, all of which are alternatives to the authoritative teaching method. The aim is to change the traditional role of the teacher into something more like that of a children's consultant.

Although this development cannot yet be described as "past history", it is already very obvious that Danish society has considerably changed its views on these matters over the past 20 years. But having said this, it should be pointed out that not all Danes have been able to keep abreast of these changes which have been too profound and too rapid for them to become accustomed to them or to feel completely at ease with them.

Many Danes live in what might be called a state of conflict between standards with which they were brought up or have experienced and the standards that are now widespread even though they are not yet firmly established. In such a situation it is obvious that there will be a tendency to defend familiar standards and maintain the status quo.

Thus the Turks living in Denmark find themselves in a society in the throes of change.

A very large number of the Turkish migrant workers come from rural districts, where the process of modernisation is traditionally slower than in urban areas. Islam is an integral part of their everyday life and Moslem rituals and decree lay down the normal and correct way of behaviour.

This then, is the background against which the clash between Danish culture selectively described above and the culture of the Turkish minority must be seen.

However, before examples of conflictual situations are given, it should be pointed out that the Turkish migrant workers in Denmark find themselves in a somewhat similar situation to the Danes in that they, too, are in a cultural state of tension. The very fact that the Turks have come to

Denmark in the first place is an indication that they have had to act in a manner that is in complete contradiction with their traditional moral beliefs. This "tension" causes the same insecurity and mental apathy among Turks as it does among Danes, which means that the Turks resident in Denmark, perhaps more so than they would have done at home, feel forced to defend and even exaggerate some of their cultural traits, at least for a time.

In Danish families, it would certainly be very exceptional for women not to buy their own clothes. However, it would appear from the interviews with Turkish families that both the men and the women consider it right and proper for the man to control the family finances and that includes the purchase of the women's clothing. This state of affairs, which is a natural part of Turkish everyday life, is apparently considered by the women to be unsatisfactory, especially when the man is receiving unemployment benefits, while the woman goes out to work. There is no doubt that this dissatisfaction will also be found in families from the same socio-economic class in Turkey, but whereas it would probably have been possible to solve this kind of marital conflict amicably in a Turkish environment, the problem is only aggravated in Denmark because of the Turkish minority's overrall situation. When the latter is so full of uncertainty, the man must act far more "authoritatively" in order to maintain his traditional dominance. The woman, on the other hand, cannot help being influenced by the Danish women's demands for equality, despite the fact that they have very little social contact with them, and thus almost certainly find the man's dominance even more oppressive.

In other words, a relatively small matter like this can have far-reaching implications for the traditional Turkish family pattern.

Another example, related to the liberalisation of sexual morals in Denmark mentioned earlier, is taken from an interview with a Turkish family. In the course of the conversation it emerged that the wife strongly disapproved of her husband having affairs with other women. By "other women" she meant Danish women. She referred to the teachings of Islam where infidelity is not permitted. She also mentioned her husband's drinking habits at the local migrant workers' club where she, in practice, was denied admission. She certainly did not find his drinking acceptable and again referred to her religion. As the interview continued, her husband, who was present, on condition that he remained silent, was visibly disturbed. When later confronted with what his wife had said, he brushed the matter aside, saying that she had no business making trouble. When pressed further, his final comment was: "It's the man who makes the decisions. She isn't going to make trouble and if she tries to, so much the worse for her."

Later accounts made it quite clear that in family conflicts when it was the father who was being called to account, they were solved by resorting to violence. In other words, both wife and children were struck when the father's authority was threatened, regardless of the fact that, as in the above example, it was the father who had sinned against his religion.

The authoritarian attitude is also clearly reflected in the relationship between parents and children, especially between father and children. The Turkish children interviewed did not necessarily seem intimidated but clearly held their parents in respect, and any attempt at insubordination on their part was punished by a good hiding.

In the light of the religious and cultural ideology of the upbringing, given in the Turkish families interviewed, it is clear that allowing their children to take part in subjects such as physical training, swimming, sex education and other school activities, such as parties, holiday camps etc, poses enormous problems. These problems are especially acute when girls reach puberty. On the whole, Turkish parents try as far as possible to carry on the traditional family pattern and upbringing of children even though they live in Denmark and their children attend Danish schools. Any conflict between the children, the school and the parents in this respect is presumably solved in an authoritarian manner.

Furthermore, there is a distinct difference in the treatment of the two sexes. After school, the girls are expected to help their mothers with the housework, to look after smaller brothers and sisters and so on. The rules for boys are somewhat more lax and, in quite a few cases, Turkish boys take part in sports away from home after school hours.

Moreover, it is not unusual for girls to be taken out of school as soon as they reach about 15 or 16, either so that they can stay at home or so that they can make money for the family and help at home after working hours. However, it should be added that this is often also true of Turkish boys of the same age.

Because of the cultural and religious differences and the consequent difference in upbringing between Danes and Turks, it is obvious that Turkish parents will try to protect themselves and their children from the moral influence of Danish society. Frequent remarks to this effect are to be found in the data collected.

Thus in summing up, it may be said that the type of behaviour described in the above examples constitutes a breach of what is considered to be the norm by a large part of the Danish population. Such behaviour does not necessarily lead to prejudice and discrimination but, in many cases, it serves to legitimise them.

From the Turkish point of view, Danish society is immoral or amoral where some of the most important aspects of life are concerned, namely: the family, sex and upbringing. It is therefore not surprising that Turkish parents try to protect themselves and their children from any outside influence. Their reasons for staying in Denmark are thus largely economic.

This brings us to other matters which are perhaps more directly conducive to discrimination and mutual mistrust between the Turkish migrants and the Danes.

Firstly, Denmark is one of the only European countries with no official immigration or minority policy.

This means, in practice, that migrant workers resident in Denmark have no guarantee that they can remain in the country, and has led organisations such as The Guest-Workers Joint Council to point out that as long as the migrant workers have no such security, there is no point in starting the difficult process of integration into Danish society of their children.

On the positive side, there is much in Danish policy to indicate that migrant workers are regarded as immigrants and, therefore, it cannot be said there are any measures under way destined to force them to leave the country. Recently, however, there have been a few dramatic examples of migrant workers being ordered to leave the country. Despite the fact that most of these cases arise out of some violation of the Danish penal code, the decisions taken were very severely criticised by the Danish public and the press.

Moreover, many of the Turks living in Denmark are not sure whether they wish to remain in the country, or return home. Almost all the people interviewed expressed the wish to return home but, at the same time, they seem to think that most of their compatriots intend staying in Denmark for one reason or another.

There is ample evidence to prove that returning to Turkey is a dream the majority of Turks have not abandoned but that, deep down, most of them have reconciled themselves to the idea of remaining in Denmark.

This dream is sustained because it constitutes a defence against the feeling of being in a cultural vacuum, an emigrant, for whom the price of adaptation - because of the vast cultural differences - would be extremely high both psychologically and culturally. Many of the people interviewed were trying to steer a middle course, giving access both to the road home and to the road to integration.

The reason why this is mentioned in connection with prejudice and discrimination is that many Danes regard migrant workers as people who are only in Denmark to make money and, in fact, many of the migrant workers themselves confirm this opinion because of their insecurity and the cultural vacuum referred to above.

As indicated above, the migrant workers came to Denmark at a time when there was economic expansion and full employment, but by 1979, the situation was somewhat different and today Denmark has a sizeable unemployment problem. Many Danes regard the migrant workers who have steady jobs as people who have "stolen" jobs from the Danes and this undeniably gives rise to aggressiveness and discrimination.

The attitude towards migrant workers who have been made redundant is no better. Many Danes see them as parasites living on the Danish Welfare State when they collect their weekly unemployment benefits.

It is very difficult to do anything about these attitudes or the prejudices that underlie them, more particularly as it is a well-known fact that discrimination always increases in times of economic recession.

Part of the explanation lies perhaps in the lack of a Danish minority policy, as neither the Danes nor the Turks themselves know whether the latter are "new Danes" who should be treated on an equal footing with other Danes or whether they are an "imported" labour force that has become superfluous and even an inconvenience over the years. Until such time as the Danish authorities solve this problem, it is difficult to foresee any improvement in the attitude many Danes have towards the minority.

In this connection, there is a rumour to which attention should be drawn which, although it remains to be verified, explains to a certain extent and even aggravates the resentment shown by Danes towards the Turkish migrant workers.

It is a well-known fact that many migrant workers send money home to Turkey to support their families. This is not only natural but may well be the very reason for their coming to Denmark in the first place. Some Danes resent this, as they consider it an exploitation of Danish currency.

But the factor perhaps most conducive to discrimination - although the only evidence is hearsay and the frequency with which it occurs is not known - is the claim that the money sent to Turkey is returned to the sender. According to Danish regulations, the money sent home by Turkish families can be deducted from the taxable income. Bearing in mind the Danish income tax rates, if the money is returned, the sender stands to gain quite a considerable tax benefit.

Another matter mentioned by people employed in the Danish school system, is that of children who are of compulsory school age according to their birth certificates before the summer holidays, but when they return to Denmark after a summer vacation in Turkey they have an authentic but different birth certificate, stating they are over compulsory school age.

By all accounts, the purpose is to get the children out of school as quickly as possible so that they can go to work and make money for the family.

As stated above, it has not been possible to verify any of the above matters nor to ascertain the relative frequency of their occurrences. It can only be observed that the data collected contains such allegations.

An attempt has been made above to describe both the relationship between the Turkish minority and the Danish majority, and the issues which seem to the author to be most relevant - that is to say that other writers might well have chosen to describe others. Every effort has been made to treat the relationship both generally and specifically and to draw a distinction between the explanations given for prejudices and discrimination and the aspects of the relationship between the Turkish minority and the Danish majority which are of a more obviously problematic nature.

The following section will, therefore, deal more specifically with the Turkish pupil in the Danish school.

2. *THE TURKISH PUPIL IN THE DANISH SCHOOL*

When Turkish families resident in Denmark include children of school age, it is the children who teach the parents to speak Danish and not the reverse. As Turkish parents usually have very little contact with the Danish population, it is the children who are the family's link with the outside world. If the parents work, they naturally have a certain amount of contact with their workmates but if they do not, they are very little in touch with the outside world. According to the persons interviewed, social relations between the minority and the majority are rare. This means that a heavy responsibility is placed on the shoulders of the Turkish child who has to act as interpreter for the family. This influences the child's role in the family as in this matter at least, the parents cannot behave in an authoritarian manner towards the child.

The majority of the Turkish children interviewed seem happy in Danish schools and their parents also appear to be satisfied with, however, the reservations mentioned earlier (regarding physical education, swimming, sex education, school parties etc).

On the other hand, all the Turkish schoolchildren interviewed say that they experience discrimination in the Danish schools, mainly on the part of Danish pupils but there have been reports of a number of specific, indisputable, cases of discrimination by teachers. However, the data collected mentioned only one case of a Turkish boy having been hit by a teacher in a reception class - from all accounts because he arrived late. The claim was made in the presence of the school adviser for the district, with whom it was later discussed.

In general, however, the impression is that the Danish teachers who have taken on the job of teaching in reception classes are both competent and idealistic, even though they often have to work under very difficult conditions. Many teachers in reception classes have, for example, children of several different nationalities in the same class. The devotion and ability of reception class teachers has also been confirmed on numerous occasions by the Turkish pupils themselves.

It would seem that the problems with teachers start after the reception class period is over, when the child is thought to speak Danish well enough to manage in a normal class. The time when this point is reached is obviously left to the discretion of the individual school which means that there are considerable differences from one school to another. Some headteachers are of the opinion that migrant children should be placed in normal classes as quickly as possible and that fluency in Danish should be acquired there. Others believe, on the contrary, that a command of the language is so important for the child's chances of social integration that they recommend that migrant children stay in the reception class as long as possible.

The teachers interviewed for the purpose of the present study made no secret of the fact that they were not exactly enthuiastic about integrating migrant children into their class. For them it meant one more difficulty in addition to those they already had to cope with, an extra inconvenience

that they were reluctant to accept. By all accounts, they not only anticipated language difficulties but also various adjustment problems. Headteachers also indicated that before a migrant child is placed in a class the social climate of the class in question is taken into account and also the teacher's attitude towards migrant workers in general.

Several headteachers and other education officials said openly that there were some teachers to whom they would never entrust a migrant child. But as to whether or not the competent authorities ever check up to find out if the pupils meet the teachers in question later on in their schooling is not known.

Apart from a few extreme cases, there is no obvious discrimination against migrant children and when there is, it is generally involuntary.

Quite a number of teachers said that they believed that their first duty was towards the Danish children who, after all, would remain in Denmark, and that the migrant children came second, as their country of residence was, for the time being at least, uncertain.

Others admitted having a guilt conscience where the migrant children were concerned. They were well aware of the problems but felt that to cope with them would call for more energy than they could muster.

Finally, it should be said that teachers who have a migrant child in their class have an extra burden for which they receive no compensation. Thus, they have no possibility of holding meetings to discuss the co-ordination of their work with the pupils.

This and other factors lead to the development of a disillusioned attitude towards the migrant children which means that, basically, they are not the equal of their Danish classmates, either language-wise or in general.

As stated above, many Danish teachers say that, in addition to the language problem, quite a number of Turkish pupils find it difficult to adjust to school. One reason for this is almost certainly that the Danish teacher practices the anti-authoritarian style of upbringing. This means that the Turkish pupils are confronted with, and have to get used to, a completely different attitude towards authority and the teacher from the one they have acquired in their home environment or, if they are old enough, in the schools in Turkey.

It is understandable that for a certain time, the pupils feel they are in a "in no man's land". They are unable to apply their old criteria and are not yet acquainted with the new ones. These new criteria can only be learnt by "trial and error" which means that many Turkish pupils, particularly boys, will try anything and some of them go too far, causing a great deal of trouble. The problems arising out of the differences in upbringing in the home and in school are sometimes very serious in the case of Turkish schoolchildren. In this connection, it should be mentioned that, in schools where the mother tongue is taught - a subject which is extremely popular among the pupils - the Turkish teachers, who are held in high esteem both by the pupils and their parents, are often called upon to settle conflicts, which is of invaluable help to the Danish teachers.

The Turkish children's reports of discrimination on the part of Danish children referred to above, are confirmed in a small-scale survey of stereotyped attitudes among 100 Danish schoolchildren (1). This survey shows that migrant workers are negatively stereotyped and regarded in general as "foreigners" who "steal" work, women and a great deal more of what is considered to be the Danes' private property.

The Turkish schoolchildren complain that the Danish children tease them and call them nicknames, and since most of the teasing goes on in the playground it is difficult for teachers to intervene. The reasons why the Danish schoolchildren tease and discriminate against the Turkish children are, of course, the same as those of their parents.

It is also far from unusual for the Turkish pupils to feel "left out" and this is also due to a form of discrimination but the Danish pupils say that it is the Turks who "keep themselves to themselves" and that is why there is such antagonism.

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(1) Blum, Jacques: Why are the Cardanians so poor and dirty? A survey of the stereotyped attitudes present in 100 schoolchildren regarding Jews.

3. CONCLUSION

Generally speaking, both the Turkish and the Danish schoolchildren are unprepared for the situation in which they find themselves. To a certain extent, this is also true of the Danish teachers and consequently of a very large section of Danish society. Problems in school are rarely isloated but usually reflect others of far greater dimensions.

Thus, in order to overcome some of the difficulties which seem to be building up, it is not enough merely to turn to the schools for solutions, although they have of course an important part to play. Measures must be taken, and changes made, in Danish society as a whole, and the author would like to make a number of suggestions which could probably be implemented without too much upheaval, as there appears to be sufficient good will in Danish schools, among politicians and also in society as a whole. These suggestions are:

1. that a Danish minority policy be formulated inter alia, as a consequence of Denmark's membership of the EEC, so that foreign nationals resident in Denmark are guaranteed the right to reside permanently in the country;
2. that an information service be set up for non-Danish speaking foreigners in order to inform them clearly - through leaflets and pamphlets written in their mother tongue - about the essential aspects of Danish society;
3. that the Danish public be better informed, for instance, via radio, television and the press;
4. that immigrants be given the right to vote in municipal elections, after a specified length of time;
5. that offices dealing specifically with immigrant problems be established;
6. that courses be organised for teachers wishing to teach in reception classes;
7. that general courses be organised for teachers and headteachers who are involved with migrant children;
8. that tuition in the Danish language and information on Danish society be offered to Turkish adults, if necessary in single-sex classes.
9. that a board of appeal specifically intended to deal with "minority cases" be set up.

The purpose of the above proposals is, amongst other things, to draw attention to the problem areas, and to prevent the adoption of over-hasty solutions.

Some readers will perhaps find that this report gives a very gloomy picture of Denmark and of the attitudes of Danes towards their Turkish fellow citizens. But it has always been a tradition in Denmark to attempt to be as objective and down-to-earth as possible, in particular in social and educational matters.

It is only by giving an overall, and unbiased, picture of the situation that the problems can be solved and social justice achieved.

COMMENT FOR THE DANISH REPORT - PART III

1. Opportunities for vocational training and other studies open to migrant children

Reception classes and group or individual instruction

It's felt that Turkish children at pre-school and basic educational levels should be admitted directly to Danish classes. The learning difficulties which come from unfamiliar environment and families can be remedied by a number of supportive educational steps.

As already said in the document, the Turkish and Turkish cultural education which consists of 3 to 5 lessons a week is usually given outside normal school hours, and take place on Saturdays and Sundays.

It's felt that this instruction should be integrated into the normal school system and the Turkish authority is always ready to send qualified teachers.

The relationship between the Turkish minority and the Danish majority

The Turkish migrant workers mostly come from a cultural environment in which the agricultural sector is dominant. As the migrant workers do not have enough information about the socio-cultural background of the host country they are in, they face a lot of problems. On the other hand, the Danish people are unprepared so they cannot tolerate them.

Besides, the sense of insecurity resulting from migration, cultural unfamiliarity, different norms and difficulties in adapting to new environments cause many problems.

The migrant workers constitute the lowest income group and their housing conditions are inadequate.

As they cannot integrate to the society, they return to their ethnic communities where opportunities of cross-cultural and social interaction are limited. They remain alienated and isolated from the dominant culture.

For the adjustment of the migrant workers, adult education courses must be ensured.

Turkish pupil in the Danish school

The parents are unaware of the educational opportunities available in the host country. This influences the success of their children.

As already said in the document, the children not only anticipate language difficulties but also various adjustment problems. The social climate of the class is very important. Here the intercultural education is gaining importance.

The Danish teachers must receive sufficient information about the education system and socio-cultural milieu of the migrant children and pay attention to the problems of the children.

The problems begin as early as the preparatory classes. The children must learn sufficiently the language of the host country. Otherwise, their comprehension, because of the language difficulty is retarded and this retardation is compounded during their educational career.

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